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## Changes and resistance of the people of the Aymara communities in the Peruvian context

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### Abstract

This research aims to analyze the processes of change and resistance within the Aymara community in the Peruvian context, focusing on the role of education, inequality barriers, and resistance strategies in shaping a plural and intercultural society. Employing an ethnographic and hermeneutic methodology, the study relies on interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic observations to examine and interpret the transformations experienced by the Aymara population. Data were collected across six provinces in the Puno department, involving 30 interviews and three focus groups with Aymara professionals, community leaders, and local authorities. The study highlights three key aspects: the current contextualization of the Aymara in the Peruvian Altiplano, the crucial role of education in driving change, and the identification of inequality barriers and resistance strategies employed by the Aymara to navigate complex and adverse situations. The findings underscore the importance of intercultural education and the resilience of the Aymara in the face of systemic adversity. The Aymara emerge as key actors in promoting alternatives and hope for a more inclusive and equitable future. Their experience reflects their adaptability and resilience, contributing to redefining a societal project that values cultural diversity in a context marked by structural challenges. The study underscores the importance of understanding change and resistance dynamics from an intercultural perspective, emphasizing the role of indigenous peoples in constructing more just and plural societies. The findings offer valuable insights into fostering social transformation in the face of systemic adversity, particularly through education and resistance strategies.

**Keywords:** Aymara, Education, Inequality, Interculturality, Resistance.

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## **1. Introduction**

To paraphrase Rivera [1] would summarize the vast reflection, analysis, and positions of the Aymara settlers in the Peruvian altiplano. In the last ten years, they have been reconfigured in different thematic and territorial dimensions, which is related to thought and knowledge as Kant considers, moreover, "all knowledge is the product of the elaboration that makes the understanding of the content of the perceptions of the senses" [2] and the different events that society has to face, according to its cultural, linguistic, political, economic, and environmental context. In this perspective, at the beginning of the year 2020, humanity began to face the situation of the sanitary crisis because of Covid-19. The data are alarming in some Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador, which are among the 20 countries with the highest number of deaths due to the disease [3]. On the other hand, major structural and historical problems have come to light, especially for indigenous peoples.

In the case of Peru, in these last two years, 2020 and 2021, together with the Covid-19 pandemic, it was its turn to live and face the social, political, economic, and environmental crisis, which directly affect the most vulnerable population of the 55 peoples and 48 languages identified by the Ministry of Culture; in the same way, we are facing the universalization of an individualism already announced by Thomas Hobbes, which is based on the criterion of the rule of the law of the strongest and abandons human beings to their insecure management of food, health, education, housing, disease, and security risks. Neoliberalism has increasingly created a consumer society via the market. Faced with this situation of exclusion and discrimination, the indigenous peoples of Latin America are facing various social problems that have been expressed for more than 500 years in movements and struggles for human dignity.

On the other hand, Peru has been subjected to processes of hegemonization and homogenization, which left great scars and wounds inherited by the colony and reproduced during the republican life. It is no coincidence that Peru is one of the countries most affected by the pandemic, with 212,438 deaths according to the Ministry of Culture [4] although this data has yet to be made transparent. On the other hand, the political violence experienced during the 20 years between 1980 and 2000, according to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, estimates that the most likely number of fatal victims of violence is 69,280 people [5].

In these last months, we have been living an economic, social, political, and governance instability that has been worsening after Professor Pedro Castillo Terrones won in the second round against Keiko Fujimori, in spite of not admitting defeat, since then they have been taking advantage of the mistakes that Castillo's government has been committing. The ministers are constantly being questioned, and the Congress of the Republic, especially the right-wing groups, have sworn to vacate or make the President resign, the discontent of the population has been generalized until the closing of the investigation; the second on April 8 in the province of Huancané, an older and historical province of the Puno region; and on April 22 in Cusco, respectively. There are various justifications and in relation to the crisis and social upheaval, but the truth is that one of the reasons for the rise in prices, which is the main claim and rejection of the population, is as a result of the war, as indicated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), apart from the suffering and humanitarian crisis caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the entire world economy will feel the effects of slowing growth and rising inflation [6]. However, this situation is exploited to accuse the government. On the other hand, the situation of the Covid-19 pandemic remains a problem to be faced, corruption, or the case of the legitimacy of governance, due to the blunders it has been committing.

The study focused on the department of Puno, due to the presence of more Aymaras, in that sense, by 2020 this situation has been reconfigured, not only in relation to the colonial oligarchy settled in Arequipa, but also in relation to the mobilization and constant migration of the population of Puno to these cities. The Quechua, Aymara, and Uro population is also settled in Puno, which today is dispersed in Arequipa, Tacna, and Moquegua, and the strong links with Cusco, Madre de Dios, and Brazil. On the other hand, with La Paz Oruro, Cochabamba, Potosí (Bolivia) and Arica, Iquique, Santiago (Chile) and Jujuy, Tucumán (Argentina), have become a space of migratory mobility of the population of the South Andean.

## **2. Theoretical Review**

The Aymara community has been the focus of numerous studies addressing their cultural resistance, adaptation to social changes, and their struggle to preserve their identity in contexts of inequality and globalization. Below is a literature review organized around three thematic axes: cultural resistance, intercultural education, and inequality in indigenous communities.

### **2.1. Aymara Cultural Resistance**

The cultural resistance of the Aymara has been analyzed as a dynamic process that combines tradition and adaptation. Albó [7] highlights how Aymara communities have maintained their cultural practices and social organization systems in the face of Western influences. Similarly, Mamani-Flores, et al. [8] emphasize the role of rituals and festivals as mechanisms for cohesion and identity resistance. These studies agree that Aymara resistance is not merely reactive but also proactive, integrating external elements while preserving their cultural core.

## **2.2. Intercultural Education**

Intercultural education has been identified as a key factor in the processes of change within Aymara communities. López [9] argues that education serves as a bridge between traditional knowledge and modern demands, enabling the Aymara to navigate both worlds. Furthermore, Tubino [10] highlights the importance of bilingual education in strengthening cultural identity and improving access to opportunities. These works underscore the transformative potential of education in fostering intercultural dialogue and reducing inequalities.

## **2.3. Inequality and Indigenous Communities**

Inequality remains a significant challenge for Aymara communities. Stavenhagen [11] points out that structural inequalities, such as limited access to resources and political marginalization, perpetuate the vulnerability of indigenous populations. In the Peruvian context, Greene [12] examines how economic and social disparities affect the Aymara, particularly in rural areas. These studies highlight the need for policies that address inequality and promote the inclusion of indigenous voices in decision-making processes.

## **3. Method**

Data collection was conducted across the six provinces of the Puno department in Peru: Yunguyo, Chucuito, El Collao, Moho, Huanacané, and Puno. A total of 30 interviews were carried out with adult men and women over the age of 18, all of whom were bilingual speakers of Aymara and Spanish. Additionally, three focus groups were organized: the first consisted of Aymara professionals residing outside the Puno region, who have been involved in various initiatives or held leadership roles; the second included current and former leaders of organizations connected to Aymara communities; and the third involved local authorities such as lieutenant governors, community presidents, and mayors of populated centers. To complement these methods, ethnographic observations were made at various fairs and events in different districts and populated centers, allowing for the documentation of significant communal and collective practices. Furthermore, a thorough review of bibliographic sources was conducted, including virtual and physical libraries of academics and intellectuals specializing in Aymara culture and issues. This multi-method approach ensured a comprehensive understanding of the processes of change and resistance within the Aymara community, integrating both qualitative insights and contextual analysis.

## **4. Results and Discussion**

In this part, we present the processes of change in three parts, from which we analyze, interpret, and discuss the data obtained from the fieldwork.

### **4.1. Contextualization of the Aymara of the Peruvian Altiplano at the Present Time**

The Aymara are a native people that currently inhabit the Andean altiplano straddling the Peru-Bolivia-Chile Triple Border [13]. At the time of the Hispanic conquest, the Lupaca occupied the southwestern basin of Lake Titicaca, between 3,800 and 4,000 meters above sea level. The kingdom consisted of a main town, Chucuito, and six other towns or headwaters located to the south: Acora, Ilave (on the shores of the river of the same name), Juli, Pomata, Yunguyo, and Zepita, which remain to this day. The towns of Yunguyo and Zepita are located on the shores of the Huinamarca lagoon, which connects to Lake Titicaca through the Tiquina Strait. The population group that occupied this vast space was composed of two ethnic groups: the Aymara, who constituted the majority and had access to almost all resources; and the Uros, a minority, who inhabited the lake area and engaged in activities related to the control of the resources provided by the habitat of the great Lake [14].

The Aymara people, with the foundation of the states of Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, have been fragmented in their development, knowing more than a territorial geographical issue, each country has established under its canonical forms of State, where they were subjected, exploited, discriminated against, and dispossessed of their territories, that is, the American confusion created these imagined realities: uninational States, republican institutions, common citizenships, popular sovereignty, flags, and national anthems, etc. Anderson [15] despite the fact that neoliberalism tried to get rid of everything, it could not, on the contrary, from the various established Aymara communities have been able to resist and recreate thanks to their wisdom, in some more than others, as in the case of Bolivia is an example of this process: "That after 515 years of oppression and domination, here we are, they have not been able to eliminate us. We have faced and resisted the policies of ethnocide, genocide, colonization, destruction, and looting" [16] is an excerpt from the messages of Evo Morales in his capacity as president of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, where he evidences the voice and validity of the peoples of Abya-Yala, in this case, the Aymara people.

In Peru, the Aymara population is found mainly in six provinces of the department of Puno and in some rural districts of the departments of Moquegua and Tacna. According to the 2017 National Censuses, the population of those localities amounts to approximately 151,301 people. Likewise, at the national level, 548,311 people feel or consider themselves part of the Aymara People [17]. In the case of Bolivia, there are around 1,191,352 Aymara, in Chile they are distributed in Arica, Iquique, and Antofagasta, 156,754, in the case of Argentina, the 2010 National Population Census in Argentina

revealed the existence of 20,822 people who recognized themselves as Aymara throughout the country, these data show the validity of this great culture, therefore, in the face of all atrocities it has been resisting.

At present, the "Aymara people" settled in the Andean highlands have been resisting against one of the great catastrophes such as the presence of the pandemic in all countries of the world, which according to the World Health Organization (WHO), as of April 12, 2022, approximately six million deaths due to the virus had been counted, Each State was and is responding according to its possibilities and situations, that until now there is still no hope or vices of solution, although some countries or laboratories are working to find the vaccine, but thanks to the strategies and wisdom of the Aymara people is a people that persists and resists to not disappear.

The history of resistance and recreation of the Aymara people in Puno has gone through three very marked moments:

A first, is the presence of gamonalismo and hacienda, the real power is exercised by regional aristocracies and that each in their region do not stop extending their privileges and hoarding more and more land, concentrating in them the property [18] this has broken three features such as: a) the collective property, usufructuada collectively and individually, b) the form of communal organization, and c) the maintenance of cultural pattern [19]. The resistance and struggle of the Quechua, Aymara, and Uro populations was and continues to be a permanent agenda in the face of the abuses to which they were subjected. In 1901 the case of José Antonio Chambilla, together with Mariano Illachura, Antonio Chambi, coming from the district of the current district of Santa Rosa Mazocruz(El Collao-Puno) came to the city Lima to present complaints to the President of the Republic for abuses by the landowners [20]. A more emblematic case of resistance is the revolution of Huancho-Lima between 1921-1924, where in a Peasant Congress was declared as the capital of the new Tahuantinsuyan Republic of Peru, headed by Tawantinsuyan peasant leaders Carlos Condorena, Mariano Paco, Mariano Wawaluque, Eduardo Quispe, Mariano Luque, Rita Puma, among others, in response, on December 16, 1923, Huancho Lima was taken by assault by the Army, where they were shot and massacred without compassion [21]. In this context, the struggle for education was an-agenda and continues to be an agenda of vindication [22].

A second stage is the transition of "Puno from the struggle for land to the occupation of cities" [23] where the "mistis" and "Indians" intermingle, a kind of hybridization occurs, which we call "grindios" is a kind of subject of cultural, political, and social hybridity [24] the centuries of colonial and republican domination have been systematically oppressive [25]. Facing and in the midst of this situation, some professionals and leaders have emerged from different spaces, under certain perspectives, assuming responsibilities in different institutions at local, regional, national, and even international levels.

The third stage of resistance and recreation from Puno, is the transition from protest to the proposal especially with a sense of cultural, social, political, environmental, and economic relevance, although this is in a disjointed way, the struggle for education at all levels, was important, as the operation and creation of three universities today two in the process of closure; The struggle for the transoceanic highway; the struggle for the San Gaban hydroelectric plant, other struggles that have been given from the different social organizations, many of them with fatal and regrettable consequences that have been stained with blood, where some former and current authorities of the regional and national government have pending issues to face. The leading role of organizations at the departmental level such as the Departmental Federation of Peasants of Puno (FDCP), base of the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP); the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA), with bases in the different provinces constituted as Agrarian Leagues, such as the National Union of Aymara Communities (UNCA), with a scope of action in the province of Chucuito and El Collao, which from this is perceived as the 'Aymara nation' the confines of the department of Puno to encompass also the "brothers" of more than borders of the post-colonial republics [26] these organizations were silenced and captured and insinuated to an activism for the legitimization only of the state system.

Despite the formation of the Working Group on Indigenous Policies (GTPI), made up of the Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Jungle (AIDSESP), the Peruvian Peasant Confederation (CCP), the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA), the Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (CONAP), the National Federation of Peasant Women, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Women of Peru (FENMUCARINAP) and the National Union of Aymara Communities (UNCA), there are still sectors that are reluctant to admit and recognize the role that rural communities have been playing, because some of these organizations have lost legitimacy and recognition from their bases. A follow-up was made to the UNCA, which had called for a congress on April 23 and 24 in the locality, which was postponed due to the low turnout of the bases and the absence of the current president on the second day, who has been in office for more than 7 years, despite the fact that its statutes are for two years. In the interventions the leaders strongly questioned the attitude of the organization, calling them "traffickers of the Aymara people", they indicated the re-foundation of the organization or "born again" because of the disorganized form and the crisis that UNCA is facing, this situation is generalized in Peru, but the communities settled in the districts and provinces are alive and well, they are only captured and coerced by some "caviar" or rather by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for their own purposes.

Puno, as a region 200 years after independence, has experienced processes and events that have marked and stained with blood the history of Puno, but the common denominator was the resistance and wise recreation of the Quechua, Aymara, and Uros. Gamonalism has reconfigured and oriented the processes of change for the submission of the "Indian" to the landowner or the boss. The political violence experienced in the country, in the case of Puno, such as the case of the assassination of the Provincial Mayor of Puno, Luis Dueñas Peralta on June 30, 1988; The political violence experienced in

Puno, such as the assassination of Marcelino Pachari Rossello on May 19, 1989 by members of Sendero Luminoso, among other deaths, murders, detentions, and disappearances [5] some provinces were more affected than others, as in the case of Azángaro and Melgar, but the truth is that the population knew how to recreate and resist, which should never be repeated, there are still those wounds and scars. On the other hand, the death and assassination of leaders and leaders by State agents, such as the murder of university student Edy Quilca Cruz on May 29, 2003 by the armed forces during the government of former president Alejandro Toledo. The case of the lynching of the mayor of Ilave on April 26, 2004 [27]; The "aymarazo" case, which began in May 2011, was a social demand for the withdrawal of Bear Creek Mining Company from Santa Ana, in this process several events occurred between May and June, in this regard some media reported that thousands of community members ransacked the Sunat, the Governor's Office, the Comptroller's Office, and the Customs Office of the regional capital. Walter Aduviri maintains that the perpetrators of these acts of disorder were infiltrated. These institutions are repudiated by the smuggling mafias in the area [28] but despite the different interpretations, the truth is that the process to obtain the concession was irregular. Jenny Karina Villavicencio (Peruvian citizen) obtained it and then transferred it to the Canadian company BCMC-SP, which violated Article 71 of the Peruvian Constitution [29]. Despite all kinds of interpretation about these facts, an Aymara Walter Aduviri Calisaya, who was elected and served as Regional Governor of Puno, was imprisoned and sentenced to six years in prison. From our point of view, his sentence is unjust and arbitrary, however, these are bills that are paid for the struggle and resistance that the population has been assuming because of its ethnic origin, especially because of the interests of multinationals and that the judicial system and the State cannot solve or assume the problems and barriers of social, economic, and political inequality.

The emancipatory thinking, which for some may have strictly Western or Marxist nuances, the truth is that from our point of view is closely linked to the wisdom of the Aymara people, despite the cultural hybridization as García Calclini would say, has known and knew how to face not only the pandemic but also the neoliberal governments or corrupt governments, as in the Peruvian case. One of the sources is the wisdom founded on the "pachamama" and the community from which agriculture and livestock is gestated, if one reviews the data on access to basic services such as health, education, housing is therefore outrageous, but the truth is that they know how to recreate from everyday life. The Aymara context in the Peruvian territory, was and continues to be an example of recreation and resistance, despite everything, there are principles and collective values that the Peruvian state system could consider to solve the problems of disorganization, or the practice of transparent values and service for the common good from the collective perspective.

#### *4.2. The Meaning of Education in the Process of Change for the Aymara of the Peruvian Altiplano*

Access to education at all levels for the native peoples was and continues to be a historical struggle, they demanded as part of the strategy of the Aymara communities: "one school per community" as a result of which the school boards were formed, where the communal authorities led, even if they did not have a school-age son or daughter, from there it was possible to understand the meaning of school. The meaning was expressed in the struggle of the peoples and communities to get out of the hole of illiteracy and discrimination, first against the gamonales and white landowners and mistis, then against the State [30] however, "the school did not have any political ideal because the political groups that were lacked ideological strength" [31] in that perspective, our informants in a focus group indicated to us:

for us education is a weapon to get ahead, that is why our parents and grandparents fought so that the communities could have a school, so we do not stay to read and write in the beginning now we have professional children who work in large institutions in big cities and abroad, but still lacking, because there are no good schools in our cities in the Puno region, so we are always at a disadvantage, for example the two universities have been closing, such as the Universidad Andina Néstor Cáceres Velásquez in Juliaca and the Universidad Privada de San Carlos with headquarters in the city of Puno, but they had branches in the various provincial capitals (Focus Group No. 02-2021: 30/12/2021).

Although it is not explicit in the publications, be they articles or books, it is evident in practice the emancipatory way of thinking of the Aymara people about education, but the Peruvian educational system does not assume this perspective:

The vitality of Aymara thought and its praxis is sustained by the activities that the community members carry out on a daily basis, in particular the activities of agriculture, livestock, fishing, handicrafts, social organization and normative systems, and ultimately in the territory and that of being a 'jaqi' 'complete person'. Therefore, the validity of Aymara thought must be the basis for the training of professionals and the transmission of ethical and moral values from generation to generation. An education, community socio-productive and for the life plan of the Aymara People [32].

The current crisis of Peruvian society, is closely linked to the education system, one of our informants asked: "Where do the corrupt come from", we could rehearse several answers about the atrocities committed under the name of God and democracy. Corruption, discrimination, racism, sexism, and patriarchalism, which have anchored in the mentality and colonization via school, is the ingredient that needs to be confronted and visualized, which the system of training teachers and professionals, today in charge of universities and pedagogical institutes should finely unravel. Consequently, facing the crisis of society, it is a moral and ethical obligation from our human nature to face from professional training, with wisdom, to contribute to the understanding, analysis, interpretation, and contribute to the solution of various problems such as epistemicide [33] that is, the death of the wisdom of the peoples who were fractured since the colony until today, but within the framework of an intercultural perspective, respecting the canons of the social sciences, on the other hand:

The community of specialized Western scientists that today pretends to monopolize what science is and to dictate on what is or is not scientific. This level has clear consequences in the maintenance of the political and economic status quo that is resolved around the industrial capitalist system [34].

The processes of standardization under the name of quality of the educational system at all levels, are nothing less than processes of cultural homogenization to generate individuals, users, and obedient consumers, but not plural, critical, creative, and collective citizens. The work in the academy or education in this trend, critical thinking is identified and oriented to the emancipation and humanization of the subjects, and to contribute to overcoming the negative conditions of existence [35]. Therefore, in a country like Peru, it is linked to the peoples and cultures of resistance, which within its components of knowledge or wisdom where there are a range of manifestations, relevant and consistent with emancipatory experience aspect, which are expressed daily, which need to be systematized and revalued as ingredients and elements of dignity for any development proposal social policies. The school cannot continue to be a space of colonization par excellence or continue to follow the line of chaos which are reproduced or replicated in the villages, where the richness of the Aymara wisdoms are castrated in this case, as in the case of the Aymara:

Cities refer to a process of social organization/disorganization, acculturation and assimilation of groups and individuals. Cities, by their ethnic and professional diversity, by the numerous and varied cultural and technological forms they display and by the division of labor that governs within them define a new form of existence: new and different patterns of social interaction, behavior and community organization [36].

In the thinking of Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Gonzales Casanova, it is urgent to decolonize methodologies, not only those coming from outside, knowing that it has in force situations of internal colonialism, where, as in any colonial situation [1] that is, questioning instrumental rationality is an exercise of critical thinking. Criticality is defined as the act of rational justification of our actions, something that implies the ability to defend our positions by providing relevant, contextual, and valid arguments [37] therefore, education means changes and transformation of reality, reconnect with reality and educate for life with dignity according to the sociocultural and linguistic context. Importantly, there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice. Likewise, emancipatory transformations in the world can follow grammars and scripts different from those developed by Western critical theory [38] in that sense the bet is decolonization, which implies that the educational system at all levels becomes more relevant and contextual.

#### *4.3. Inequality Barriers and Strategies as Elements of Resistance*

There are testimonies and lived experiences about the barriers of inequality, even terrifying, in this perspective, a tracking of life stories of settlers like Daniel Quispe Machaca was made, it is an evidence and expression of resistance, although the State seeks to prolong the status quo through makeup and masks, with which it covers and conceals its archaic forms of domination [39] but he knew how to face as a "good Aymara", not only remained in the speech, but has embodied in this brilliant work: "Palabra de aymara, un testimonio vital en los albores del siglo XXI" [40] it is not only biographical account, but points in its lines very interesting proposals as elements of resistance and being actors of resistance:

It is the Aymara themselves who must clarify the problem of our cultural and historical identity...Our culture of resistance has shown that we are capable of defending our right to life and freedom...In order to participate, the great majorities have to develop our own strategies. Until today we have not been considered in the gestation of development plans that concern us as a people, the prevailing system is not sensitive to our demands and aspirations [40].

We can highlight various strategies undertaken by Quispe [40] such as the creation of the Center for the Preservation of Aymara Culture and Aymara Literature (CEPLA), established on May 26, 1993 and based in Puno; also, the Aymara Collective, an organization formed by Aymara people living in the city of Lima, who have been carrying out various activities related to the Aymara language and culture, from their experiences and professions. On these issues and others, we interviewed Daniel Quispe in the city of Lima, we can summarize his position in relation to the changes and barriers, despite having served as a teacher, deputy, official, co-religionist of the Popular Action Party, etc., he feels more convinced, committed and clear in his actions, and stated the following: "I have decided to resign from the party and we must found our own party" (Interview No. 21, 09/12/21), he is one of the very enthusiastic and critical characters of the situation facing the Aymara people and culture.

One of the most evident areas is the injustice and systematic violation of collective rights, here we present two of the most emblematic cases of the many that occur in Peru. First, the case of Walter Aduviri Calisaya, where the Peruvian judicial system ignores and does not accept other forms of justice or customary law:

In the instant case it is not applicable that this punishable action is part of a culturally conditioned error of understanding, since it is not part of the uses, customs and culture of the native peoples, and specifically in the case of the accused, he is a person with higher education, an accountant by profession, who perfectly understood the legal nature of his acts and the duty to conduct himself with diligence, that is to say, not contravening the criminal legal system, and not harming protected legal assets such as patrimony, public tranquility, but above all attacking the dignity of the city of Puno as such and that of its citizens who were coerced in innumerable circumstances that it is not necessary to analyze in this case, so the accused did not respect these legally protected assets by the Criminal Law.

Several studies have been carried out on this case and disseminated as theses and books, for example, "Aimarazo. Conflicto social penalizado" [41] where he courageously and openly relates the actions of the ordinary system, knowing that the Supreme Court of Justice declared the cassation appeal of Walter Aduviri Calisaya partially founded and ordered his release, imposed a sentence of four years of suspended freedom and a payment of a civil reparation of two million soles. On the other hand, the doctoral thesis of the former president of the UNCA, under the title: Extractive policies and socio-environmental conflicts in the Aymara communities in the district of Huacullani Puno Peru 2011, which states that:

The activities of the Santa Ana mine in the exploration stage have caused the contamination of water, soil and social breakdown of the population, which has led to the emergence of social and environmental conflicts in Huacullani. The institutional framework of the energy and mining sector in the region during exploration has shown limited technical capacity to control and mitigate the effects of mining [42].

For the former leader of UNCA, the State is responsible for the events of 2011 called "aymarazo", from his militancy he experienced this mobilization first hand, "I was a councilor of the municipality during 2011, the situation was very difficult and worrying" (Interview No. 16, 11/09/21), the role assumed by Héctor Velásquez is important, he has been Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, at the close of the research he serves as President of the Admission Commission at the National University of the Altiplano; although his militancy and friendship with the Patria Roja group, discredits his coherence and identity, but it is important the strategies he has been assuming from commitment and identification with the Aymara people.

The second emblematic case is the case of the Constitutional Court, according to Ruling 27/2022 EXP. N.º 03066-2019-PA/TC Puno, on the peasant communities Chila Chambilla and Chila Pucará, have issued the ruling that resolves: Declare the lawsuit inadmissible:

On September 17, 2017, the peasant communities Chila Chambilla and Chila Pucara filed an amparo lawsuit against the Mining Metallurgical Institute (Ingemmet) and against the Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM), requesting the nullity of the mining concessions granted in favor of the mining company Cemento Sur S. A. They allege that the mining concessions granted to Cemento Sur S.A. overlap with areas belonging to the Chilla Chambilla community. Specifically, it indicates that said concessions occupy more than 50% of each of the plaintiff communities. It specifies that this has occurred without respecting the right to prior consultation, the right to communal property, the right to self-determination of the peoples, and their cultural and religious identity.

In analyzing the controversy, it maintains:

2. In the present case, the plaintiff mainly questions that the entities summoned would not have implemented the prior consultation mechanism in the granting of a mining concession that overlaps their territories.

3. However, the right to prior consultation is not recognized by the Constitution, either expressly or tacitly, so it is not possible to claim protection in respect of it through the amparo process, since it is not a fundamental right.

4. In any case, the right to prior consultation emanates from Convention 169, which does not grant it the character of a fundamental right, so it cannot be inferred that it is a right of such dimension and much less that it has constitutional rank.

This decision has caused outrage and rejection by organizations and sectors that have been working on the issue of human rights, through a statement: We reject the position taken in this case by judges Ferrero Costa, Sardón de Taboada and Blume Fortini, who affect the search for intercultural justice and the importance of recognizing Convention 169 as a necessary and indispensable constitutional normative instrument for the conservation and guarantee of the existence of indigenous peoples.

It is important to highlight that among the signatory organizations, the following stand out: Human Rights and Environment (DHUMA), whose director is the lawyer Cristóbal Yujra Villasante, Aymara, native of the Community of Huancartinquihui in the jurisdiction of the Acora district, who has been accompanying this type of processes, that marks overcoming the barriers of justice, which constitutes a strategy for Aymara communities and indigenous peoples, in the conversations and meetings we had he told us: "we must make ourselves respected and the laws are like adobe molds and they put us all in equally, we have other laws, making ourselves recognized is a process that will cost a fight" (Interview No. 08, 10/09/21). The former institution is the Institute for Studies of Andean Cultures (IDECA), whose director is the anthropologist Rolando Pilco Mallea, Aymara, from the Cutini Capilla Community in the Juli district, with a vast professional career and committed to indigenous peoples. The work is important not only institutional, but also personal and professional, with which we share various experiences with women's organizations, lieutenant governors, patrolmen and others in different parts of the Puno region, such as Huacullani, Desaguadero, Juli, Nuñoa, etc. This young professional, in one of his interviews, said:

"I am clear about things, the only way to move forward is from within ourselves, the commitment to education is very important for indigenous peoples" (Interview No. 15, 10/12/21).

In this sense, the barriers of inequality have been faced with very interesting strategies, where children from indigenous peoples, as well as many ties to them, at the same time lived those moments of hatred and pain, which are still experienced and experienced by various sectors of the population of the local, regional and national colonial lag, who find it difficult to admit this process of change, but the resistance and the collective and individual emancipatory struggles from public spaces become irreversible. The Aymara communities in this context continue to be those collective spaces, from

where their children have emerged in defense of collective dignity against institutions that have clear and defined purposes of homogenization.

200 years after independence, the "mixture of hatred, contempt and fear of the great landowners - white and coastal - towards the subjugated popular classes - Indians, Chinese and blacks - has not ceased, it was identical to that which the Spanish conquerors maintained towards the conquered Andean people" [43] today the forms of discrimination have been recreated, in the name of democracy or governability, where the 55 original peoples, in this specific case the Aymara people have no representation, there is a reproduction of the old oligarchy of the colonial leftovers, where "Real power is exercised by the aristocracies of landowners of landowners who dominate regional societies and who, each one in its region, do not stop extending their privileges and monopolizing more and more land, concentrating property there" [44] in this process, the Indian vote in the hands of the indigenous peoples, is not a threat to the indigenous peoples, but to the indigenous peoples who are the most powerful. of white-mestizo cholaje, is an instrument of oppression of the Indian. Thanks to his own vote, the Indian has become a "political pongo" [45] therefore, there is an urgent need to say: "the urgency to say "we" [46] in this framework, there is a catacomb of reflections and actions that have been brewing from various spaces as emancipatory elements.

Another of the barriers to inequality is education, because the official educational system has responded to the interests of power, always trying to cover up the great atrocities of violation of human rights and the raffle of the great wealth of the State, as could be seen in "the reign of Fujimori and Montesinos lasted just over a decade" [47] despite the fact that they faced Sendero Luminoso and MRTA. However, this duo is serving time for these and other causes, such as the case of Barrios Altos and La Cantuta. However, the environment and the power clans under the leadership of his daughter Keiko Fujimori continue to control different powers and state and private sectors, for this purpose "political parties" with their own names have been created, today all of them accused of corruption as in the case of Odebrecht, who tried and placed presidents, congressmen, regional governors, mayors, etc., to understand this situation it is not necessary to be an expert or scholar, the facts speak for themselves of these mafias entrenched in these scenarios of citizen control.

"The 2021 presidential elections were characterized, for the first time in our republican history, by the open exposure of racism, discrimination and contempt of the ruling classes who voted for Fuerza Popular towards the country's marginalized and rural classes, the cholos, the Indians, who voted massively for Professor Pedro Castillo of Cajamarca, who with his progressive and inclusive proposal has gained the support of the country's rural and poor classes. The current situation has indeed exposed the invariants of our social, economic, cultural and political structure, racism of race and class, causing very intense social tension, further exacerbated by the intransigence of anti-democratic groups that refuse to accept the results of the vote, denying that the president-elect is Professor Castillo and even calling for a coup d'état" [48]. The various media and social networks have been spreading the blunders of Pedro Castillo's government, but not all of them have a critical and constructive sense in order to improve the gaps of inequality, but rather the hatred and fury against the "Chotano" is evident, the purpose is to strip him of his immunity, for which any and the smallest pretext is sought.

In this regard, clear and forceful assessments were made in relation to the media, as well as from representatives of the Congress of the Republic, specifically from some congressmen of Fuerza Popular who have sworn to remove Castillo from the presidency. Political representation, for its part, within the framework of representative democracies has also been a focus of continuous debate, either due to the tensions it provokes between the actors involved (we could speak of tensions between representatives, between representatives and citizens, and also between citizens), or due to questions about the perfection or imperfection of the circuit of representation of citizen interests and preferences from professional corporate actors, or due to crises of representation in the face of the growing emergence of other types of actors capable, or at least susceptible, to channeling political representation (social movements, political action platforms with varying degrees of formality, media opinion leaders, etc.). [49].

The Congress of the Republic may be legal, but it has lost legitimacy from the population for various reasons. It has become a barrier of inequality for indigenous peoples, for example, the Quechuas, Aymaras and Amazonians, it has no legal or legitimate representation, therefore, it is a space to be conquered, this is clear to the leaders of the Aymara communities, such as Mariano Encinas, Mauro Cruz, among others, but it is true that many think or are absorbed by the so-called "National Parties", because the indigenous peoples do not have their own parties or movements, it is even reproduced in the regions as in the case of Puno, Reforma y Honradez (RH), by Richard Hanco, it is like the O of Ollanta, the K of Keiko, T of Toledo, etc., everything falls on clans or family, where the common does not matter or count. Local governments, despite their poor management, are also other spaces of resistance and struggle against the barriers of inequality. In this sense, we visited the six Aymara provinces, such as El Collao, Chucuito, Yunguyo, Huanané, Chucuito, Moho and Puno. Our interviewees in the different markets and communities disagree with their mayors. None of them are keeping the promises they made during the electoral campaign. Of the four years they had to face and live through the Covid-19 pandemic. In the focus groups they told us:

"The pandemic has favored them, because they did nothing for the population" (Focus Group No. 03-2021: 01/30/2022). This situation could be true or not, for example, we interviewed the mayor of the provinces of Huanané and Puno, we can perceive in them the enthusiasm for improvement, but they do not have people in their technical team who give the impulse towards a thought of emancipatory change, but they fell into the routine of bureaucracy and the system has



completely absorbed them, because, in recent decades, democracy has been limited to minimal and procedural issues, and social justice has also been reduced to a simply institutional dimension. It has not been able to stimulate an irrevocable demand to serve the common good [50]. Injustice has a historical tradition for the Andean Amazonian peoples, this implies facing an infinity of barriers of social, economic, cultural and political inequalities, in this framework, two spaces and segments could be identified as strategies of emancipatory thinking that have been undertaken by the communities of the Peruvian highlands, one of them are the peasant patrols created by Law No. 27908 of the Peruvian State, published on January 7, 2003 in the official newspaper - El Peruano, in accordance with Article 149 of the Political Constitution of 1993, who are empowered to administer justice in their jurisdiction. This organization has been undertaking a permanent struggle for the dignity of the people, although the ordinary system has serious reservations. In the Puno region, specifically in the Quechua area, it has vast experience since its foundation in the time of subversive violence until today, it has been empowered and has become proactive spaces in some localities of the districts and provinces such as Carabaya and Nuñoa [51].

There have been very interesting advances that have involved members of the ordinary system such as judges, prosecutors and police, but it is still complicated and adverse. A second ancestral organization is the lieutenant governors, the peasant patrols are of recent creation, but they continue to be consolidated. The lieutenant governors assume the role of administering justice. The ordinary system intends and limits the functions of the lieutenant governors, reducing them as representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, validating their role as representative of the President of the Republic, that is somewhat incongruous, because they have their own forms and procedures in the nomination, function and role, it is ancestral, therefore, their equating is the most nefarious and undermines the ancestral system of organization, which is ethical and transparent, from where one can learn and teach the service for the dignity and respect for collective rights. Different lieutenants have been interviewed and all agree on their connection to the community, they are the ones who raise the farms, animals and life in their jurisdiction, they are characterized by their suit and the sacred attire of a leader in the true sense of the word. These two organizations have been facing the barriers of inequality, at the same time their actions have become a strategy and elements of emancipatory thought, their actions become irreversible, each time they compromise the ordinary system of the Judicial Power, it is not only a transfer of norms, but it is holistic and transversal in the processes of change for the Aymara communities of the Peruvian highlands.

The forms of struggle and resistance are founding elements of emancipatory thought, which have been developing in the Aymara communities, which have been taking root in other territorial spaces, that is, in the different cities of the coast such as Lima, Arequipa, Tacna, Moquegua, among others. The presence of the Covid-19 pandemic has reconfigured and discovered strategies and elements from everyday life, in the different aspects that have historically been established as barriers of inequality, which cannot end or extinguish the Aymara people, because they have been generating responses to processes of sociocultural changes that modernity and Eurocentric positivist science cannot explain or understand the complex reality that are the Andean cultures, in this case the Aymara of the highlands.

## **5. Conclusions**

The Aymaras of the highlands in Peru have experienced processes of geographical fragmentation such as provinces and districts, but this has not meant cultural and linguistic relegation, although it is natural that in many cases their ancestral cultural practices were deeply disrupted by evangelization and schooling; however, they have been and continue to grow with changes, they have turned various contexts into spaces of struggle and resistance from where actions of resistance have been brewing, for which they have opted for various strategies that constitute elements of emancipatory thought based on collective values and principles. In the current provinces such as Huancané, Moho, Puno, Chucuito, El Collao and Yunguyo, considered Aymara territories, there are populations that are giving importance to the Aymara language and culture. In addition, there is a significant presence of Aymaras in other regions that have been successful in the economic aspect. an inclusive, plural and transparent country.

For the Aymara, education is a fundamental weapon for transformation. This means that it must be pertinent and contextual; that is, it must take into account the current ancestral wisdom linked to the ways of raising life in a collective manner and for the common good, and it must not continue to be a space of colonization par excellence. Therefore, the crises in Peruvian society are the result of the type of education received. Consequently, we must identify and visualize actions of emancipatory thinking from the peoples and cultures of resistance, which, within their components of knowledge or wisdom, exist a range of manifestations that are pertinent and coherent as founding aspects of emancipatory experience. These are expressed daily and require being adopted by the educational system as ingredients and elements of dignity. This would save time and energy to refound an inclusive, plural, and transparent country.

There are various barriers of inequality that not only affect the Aymara people but are faced by all peoples who have been systematically denied. However, from the wounds and scars that have marked frustrations in these populations, they recreate and build elements of resistance in their daily lives, such as individual and collective leadership and initiatives. This is exemplified by the Aymara Collective in Lima, which brings together members with attitudes and aptitudes that embody and confront what it means to be Aymara. Similarly, the responses to two outrageous events highlight a shame for the justice system in Peru: first, the sentence to Walter Aduviri, who was first imprisoned and then sentenced to a

suspended sentence; secondly, the denial and ignorance of the applicability of the Law of Prior Consultation for the two peasant communities of Chila Chambilla and Chila Pucara by the Constitutional Court. In short, the criminalization of the struggles of the peoples is systematically consolidated. In response, there are organizations directed and led by professionals of Aymara or Quechua origin that did not exist before, but today there has been significant progress. On the other hand, the struggle of the rondas and lieutenant governors has become a means of resistance and a fight for dignity, to which various sectors of the State have approached, albeit with some fear and mistrust. Nevertheless, these are spaces and instances from which it will be possible to refund Peru.

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